## COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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My opinion is, that the best plan of representation is that which shall bring into activity the greatest number of independent voters. That government alone is strong, that has the hearts of the people; and will any man contend, that we should not be more likely to add strength to the state, if we were to extend the basis of the popular representation? In 1785, the right hon, gentleman (Mr. Pitt) pronounced the awful prophecy, "Without a Parliamentary Reform the nation will be plunged into new wars; without a Parliamentary Reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be of use to you." Such was his prediction, and it has come upon us. Good God! what a fate is that of the right hon, gent, and in what a state of whimsical contradiction does he now stand!" Mr. Fox's Speech, May 26, 1797."

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. (See former observations upon this subject, from page 353 to 368 ) - On Friday, the 21st instant, MR. TIERNEY moved, in the House of Commens, for the second reading of his bill for altering and amending the act, called the TREATING ACT, the origin of which act, as well as the nature of it, the reader will remember that we spoke of in the article just referred to.-Upon the motion for the bill's being read a second time a debate took place. MR. FULLER was the first to oppose the motion, and that upon the ground of the bill's being evidently calculated to operate as a virtual disfranchisement of a great proportion of those persons, who, at present, exercise the right of voting. Mr. Morris, in a very able speech, opposed it, partly upon the same ground as that taken by Mr. Fuller, and also upon the ground of its beingquite unnecessary as a declaratory or ex planatory act; and, in my opinion, he clearly showed, that the act, as it now stands, accompanied with the constructions put upon it by courts of justice and by committees of the House of Commons, is sufficient for every practical purpose, there having, in fact, been, as far as I could learn, no one instance, in which it could be shown to have produced any serious injury or inconvenience, either to caudidates or electors. Mr. Francis, MR. LEE, MR. COURTENAY, MR. JOHN-STONE, and some others, spoke against the motion; the speakers for it, being SIR Ro-BERT BUXTON and OLD Rose. Mr. Fox (and upon this we shall have a good deal to say by-and-by) expressed his intention not to oppose the committing of the bill; but, begged the House not to conclude from this, that he pledged himself, in any degree, to approve of the principle of it. The new ATTORNEY GENERAL expressed himself to the same effect, going, at the same time, into a good deal of detail, in order to show, that to do something was necessary, seeing the very great uncertainty in which every candidate was placed in consequence of the

different constructions, which, by different courts and committees, had been put upon the Treating Act. But, much as this gentleman said; minute as he was in his description of the difficulties arising out of the act as it now stands; backing his reasoning, as he did, with the observations of twenty years of his own experience as an electionlawyer: notwithstanding all these efforts, he did not remove from my mind the impression made by MR. Morris; for, after all, the difficulties, appeared evidently to lie in the theory and not in the practice; and, whatever might be the literal meaning of the act, it had, generally speaking, been so construed, as to make it efficient for all the purposes which it was intended, or, at least, which it ought now to be intended, to answer. Ma. Tierney was less happy in his answer, than he had been, when he opened the subject, on the 10th instant. A remark that he made upon the inconsistency of MR. Fox and the ATTORNEY GENERAL shall be noticed by-and-by. He did not, any more than the ATTORNEY GENERAL had done, succeed in removing the strong impression produced by the speech of Mr. Morris, as to the bill's being unneceseary for any purpose of an explanatory na-ture. But, his main effort was directed to the removing of an impression, which he seems to have perceived had been produced, in as well as out of the House, by his former speech; and, so foll did his mind appear to be of this object, that, in consequence of an observation of Mr. FRANCIS, he thought it necessary to beg leave to say a word in the middle of the debate, in order to convince his hearers, that he never had, for one moment, entertained a wish to make the freeholder's qualification thirty pounds a year, instead of forty shillings. Yet, anxious a he undoubtedly was to remove the impression here spoken of; prepared, as he evidently came, for effecting this purpose, so important, not only to his bill, but himself; notwithstanding this, he did, I think; completely fail; such was the opinion of all

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those near whom I was sitting, and such, I am persuaded, is the almost unanimous opinion of the public. His doctrine relative to the political effects of the depreciation of money had excited a great deal of attention; and, observations su h as those made in the pages from 359 to 363, which observations must have suggested themselves to the mind of every reflecting and tolerably wellinformed man, did demand some answer from the man, who had broached doctrine like that just spoken of. But, instead of an answer; instead of any attempt at answering observations of this sort, Mr. TIERNEY dispatches the topic for ever with a few words: "we will say no more about the " depreciation of money, or any thing of " that kind; but I will ask this one plain " question: has the voter a right to demand " a conveyance, clear of expense to him-" self, to and from the place of election? "and, if he have not that right, what does " this bill take from him, and how can it " be said that he is virtually disfranchised by "the bill?" Here, from his confident minner, which was, apparently, rendered more confident by the animating chearings of his worthy co-operator, and most worthy brother privy-councillor, old Mr. George Ross, he seemed to think that he had fallen upon a stunning argument; which, however, I am sure, he will, upon re-consideration, find to have been nothing but a little hit of sophistry. We do not contend, we never have, and never shall, contend, that the voter has a right to demand a cost-free conveyance to and from the place of polling; but, we do contend, that he has a right to accept of such conveyance at the hands of any one who will give it him; and, it is because we know that the bill would deprive him of this right; it is for this cause, that we complain of the bill, perceiving, as the consequence, that the depriving him of this right would, in numerous instances, operate as a virtual disfranchisement of the voter. Will Mr. Tierney deny, that the voter has a right to accept of a cost-free conveyance? Where will he look for the grounds of such denial? No where, I am certain, but in the Treating Act itself, which then we must consider merely as a prohibitory law, and, as to the construction which this act ought to receive, that is the very object in dispute. As to the reason of the case, as to the spirit of the constitution, if Mr. Tierney should contend, that a cost-free conveyance of voters is a thing which was never thought of in former times; perhaps he would be correct; but, was a Treasury Bench in the House of Commons ever thought of in

Were close boroughs ever former times ? thought of in former times? Was it expected that a peer would have it in his power to send three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, or perhaps more members, to the House of Commons? Was it, in former times expected, that the House of Commons, the members of which were paid for their attendance, would enter upon that service as a stepping stone to the peerage? Was it, in former times (for there is no knowing where Mr. Tierney will stop) expected, that the clergy, then chiefly under the influence of the Pope, and forming a power strongly checking the King, and thereby making the good will of the people an object of great importance with the King; was it, in those times, expected, that the clergy would all become dependent upon the King; and that, in the choosing of the members of the House of Commons, the whole weight of the church would be thrown into the scale of the crown? I am not expressing, or insinuating, any opinion as to the quality of this change; but, no one can deny that it has taken place; no one can deny that it is of great importance; no one can deny that it has produced an effect fully competent to balance against any change which time may have produced in favour of the extension of the elective franchise, and, indeed, I am persuaded, that no one will attempt to deny, that the latter has been, beyond all comparison, overbalanced by the former. Here, then, is the point upon which I make my stand: I say, that all has undergone a change: that things have, from one cause and another, grown into their present shape: that circumstances have arisen here and there promiscuously, that they have been rolled along by the power of time, and have jostled themselves into the present state. Do you want a reform? Now, when the " hurricane" is over: now, when we have no longer to dread the effects of mad democracy: now, when despotism is the great and prominent evil that threatens the world: now, when a reform might be effected without any evident danger, perhaps: do you now want a reform? With all my heart; but, then, let all be reformed; let all be brought back to the spirit of the constitution of England; or let all alone as it is: do not appeal to the spirit of the constitution partially; do not, by the means of such an appeal, virtually disfranchise any part of the people, while you suffer the effects of all the other changes to remain to operate in their full force against the people; and, as to the professed objects of the reform proposed by Mp. Trenner, let no one again mention

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them, until an answer be given to the arguments in the pages from 364 to 366, to which arguments no answer has yet been attempted. There remains, before we come to an account of the conclusion of the debate, a few remarks to be made upon the singular course pursued, upon this occasion, MR. TIERNEY observed, by MR. Fox. that it was inconsistent in that gentleman to consent to the bill going into a committee, while he, at the same time, pretty clearly signified his disapprobation of its principle. And, surely, MR. TIERNEY was right in this observation; for, as the very object of the first and second reading of a bill is to give the House an opportunity of expressing its approbation or its disapprobation, of the principle of such bill, and of throwing it out, in case of disapprobation, to consent to a bill being read a second time, and, of course, to its being committed, is, in fact, to approve of its principle; and, whatever might be the motive of Mr. Fox, however he might qualify his consent, upon this occasion, that consent, to say the very least of it, did amount to a declaration, that, as yet, he had not made up his mind as to the goodness or the badness of the principle of this bill; upon which declaration, when compared with the long struggle which MR. Fox supported in the cause of parliamentary reform, always having for its main object a great addition to the number of voters, I must leave the reader to make his own observations.-The charge of inconsistency preferred by Mr. Tierney against Mr. Fox, Lord PORCHESTER was desirous of warding off from himself; and expressed his resolution to oppose the second reading of the bill. This, in an excellent, though short, speech his lordship did; and, thereby, he produced a disposition, on the part of several members, to divide the House, which was, from the notion that there would be no division, now reduced to less than a hundred members, of which 17 were against the second reading of the bill, and 73 for it. The bill was, of course, ordered to be committed. -Upon the further proceedings relating to this subject some observations will be offered in my next number. That the bill should ever become a law, I cannot bring myself to believe; but, there will arise some good, perhaps, from the agitating of the subject, especially as Mr. Tierney has thought proper to introduce the interesting question of the depreciation of money, as affecting the political rights and liberties of the people; a question, which, notwithstanding his recommendation to " say no more about it, he must, and I am sure he will excuse us for

discussing at a proper time, a little more at large than we have hitherto done.

ALEXANDER DAVISON. The appointment of this person to so important an office as that of Treasurer of the Ordnance has excited general attention. There is a measure before parliament; a bill, fast becoming a law, for regulating this office, and for the preventing of any misapplication of the public money by the Treasurer. This measure, a writer in a weekly newspaper, called the "INDEPENDENT WHIG," has, in terms of high commendation, attributed to the effect produced upon the public mind, and, through that channel, upon the mind of the ministers, by the letter of my Bath correspondent, in page 242 of the present volume; upon which I shall, for the present, only say, that I wish the effect had been of a nature more efficacious. As to the object of the bill, Lord HENRY PETTY, upon moving for the House of Commons, on Monday, the 24th instant, to go into a committee upon it, "it was," he said, "first, that the House might have under its view a correct regulation in the mode of expenditure for such sums of the public money as it should think proper to vote for this branch of the public service; and, secondly, for securing the responsibility of the public officer, charged with the distursement of such expenditure; and to prevent, as far as possible, the misapplication of money entrusted to his charge." Very good objects indeed; and such were the objects of the famous bill, according to which Mr. Dundas was to manage the Treasurership of the Navy! Mr. Huskisson, (smooth your beard and look grave, reader!) said, "that for a considerable time before the decease of his late rt. hon. friend, a project was not only in contemplation for the establishment of effectual checks, such as now preposed, on the expenditure of public money in the Ordnance Department, and in every other public office, as professedly intended by the Noble Lord, but that the plan had been long acted upon, and only waited an opportunity of parliamentary " regulation, under a bill in the contempla-" tion of his right hon, friend."happy must the nation be to hear this! It was rather like a death-bed repentance, to be sure. It had been put off foo long; and the crircumstance of prevented accomplishment should operate as a warning to future ministers to think of "effectual checks" in the " time of their youth, and when the " we have no pleasure in them." But, how happy is it for the nation, that these " effec"that checks" are, at last thought of! The reason why they were not thought of before; the fact whether they will be enforced now; the question whether they will be carried into the offices with which Mr. Huskisson has been, and yet is, I believe, connected; what degree of reliance we ought to place upon them, unless accompanied with an impartial and rigorous retrospective inquiry: all these are worthy of some attention; but, in the meanwhile, let us consider this bill as a little earnest of a disposition, on the part of the ministry to listen to the voice, and to

protect the property of the people

MILITARY APPAIRS .--In page 406 of the present volume will be found concluded the sketch (for I ought, perhaps, to give it no other title) of a plan for the forming of an efficient and permanent army. Introduction to this plan contained some remarks (see page 389), upon two other plans, one of which was submitted to the public by MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, from whom I requested an answer to certain questions there asked. The answer has been received; and the reader will find it in a subsequent page of the present sheet.—Since the publication of my last number, I have received a plan, published in a pamphlet by BRIGA-DIER GENERAL STEWART of the 95th Regiment. This writer sets out with observing, that, in the forming of an army, "the pre-" vailing sentiment of our own country " should, in particular, be seized; and that, " above all, an union of interest, one com-"mon feeling between the soldier and the "citizen must be created." From such a principle, laid down as the basis of a great plan of reform, who would not have expected something, at least; some little means of this union of interest, and this fellowfeeling? Yet, from one end to the other of the work, not a single provision is proposed whereby any rational man could possibly hope to effect the great purpose, or any part of the great purpose, professedly in view. The writer, after giving a description of the nature and extent of the power which England has now to contend with, and of the inefficiency of our present military system, in which description, besides its being extremely bald, there is not one new thought, not one idea which the public has not, from long and long ago, had communicated to it, and that, too, with a copiousness of information and a power of argument, of which, if one may judge from this effort of the Gene-nal, he is totally incapable of forming an development of his plan, the principal

object of which he re-states, and proceeds to the means of accomplishment. The manner which he has chosen, is that of laying down proposition after proposition; but he seems to have entirely forgotten, that, in order to induce the reader to agree to a proposition, in order to acquire a claim upon the reader to come into such agreement, some proof, either from admitted facts, or from argument, is absolutely necessary. The matter of the GENERAL, therefore, consists of a string of assertions, through which he conveys to the nation his recommendation as to what ought now to be done. But, it is to the means; it is to the means whereby he pro. poses to create an "union of interest, one " common feeling between the soldier and " the citizen," that we will, in the short space we have to spare, direct our attention. These means are: 1st, to change the condition of service from enlistment for life to that of enlistment for term of years; 2d, to augment, though not much, the present amount of soldiers' pensions; 3d, to render corporal punishment less frequent; 4th, to shorten the duration of foreign service, and to make colonial service, in certain cases, a punishment for crimes; 5th, to establish, according to the Prussian manner, permanent stations for regiments, when at home; and for their recruits; when the regiments are abroad, having, at each station, a regimental school, and a sort of nursery for the children of soldiers; 6th, to provide for the promotion of soldiers to the rank of commissioned officers by the means of a new intermediate rank, somewhat above a serjeant and yet below an ensign; 7th, to augment the pay of the commissioned and noncommissioned officers. All this, except the proposal for permanent stations and for the making of foreign service as a punishment for crimes, is very well; it is, with those exceptions, all very good; but, I am sure, the reader will recollect, that it has all been recommended before, and that the recommendation has, by many, by very many, writers and speakers, been supported by irresistible argument. In all this, however, where are any of the means for the effecting of the main, the grand object; for laying the corner-stone; the very first stone of the fabric? Where, in these proposed regulations; these mere military regulations; where are there the means, or any part of the means, for creating "an union of interest and a com-" mon feeling between the soldier and the " citizen"? And, indeed, the GENERAL does, in a subsequent page of his work, appear to think, that things are very well, in this respect, already. "It seems," says he,

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" scarcely possible, that linked as our land " force must ever be, by numerous ties, " with the political institutions of the state, " it should be converted into an engine of " arbitrary power." He must think, then, that these ties already exist; for he has proposed none. But, they do not exist; and, that they do not, needs no other proof, than the mere looking at what I have proposed. If my propositions were adopted, then, indeed, these ties would exist, and they would, I am thoroughly persuaded, be efficient in the producing of the most beneficial effects. Nothing short of them, it is my decided opinion, would be attended with any consi-"Companies of merit," derable effect. " badges of honor," and the like, may do very well in Prussia, and in other countries, where the common people have never heard of political privileges; in countries, where the sovereign is every thing, and the people nothing; but, here they will not do at all. Medals and badges have been, in particular corps, often enough tried, in the English service; and, as often, they have been found to have but very little effect, even upon the conduct of the men while serving; and, as to their having any weight in the inducing of men to enter the service, the idea is perfeetly absurd. We want an efficient, a permanent, and a cheap, military force. want motives to induce good men to leave the walks of civil life, for that of the military life. And, he who imagines, that such inducement will be found in the prospect of wearing medals, or badges, or in a promised advance of pay, during service, upon condition of long service and good behaviour, has reflected but very little indeed upon the character and disposition of Englishmen.-Upon one point I perfectly agree with GE-NERAL STEWART, and I mention it, not only because I do agree with him, and because I wish to add to his opinion, whatever little weight mine may, with any one, happen to have, but also because I am pleased at such an instance of literary boldness (for such, when we consider whose partialities he encounters, it really is) in an officer of the army. I allude to his opinion that " the sooner foreign corps are removed " from our service the better, they being as " expensive as our own levies, and England " being, of all nations, that which neither " requires, nor ought to have, foreign mer-cenaries." All the objects, which, during the last war, rendered it proper to employ emigrant corps, are now no more. The Hanoverians it might be proper to take into our service; but, the best way of employing them certainly would be, to send them,

as soon as convenient, either to the East or the West Indies. To keep them for the defence of England has in it something so degrading to us, that I must confess myself impatient under the idea. Our enemy too: what must he think of the country, which stands in need of the protecting arms of the protectors of Hanover! Whichever way we view this part of our establishment, therefore; whether in its natural effect upon the minds of the people, or upon the mind of the world, and particularly of the enemy, it is, surely, adviseable to get rid of, as soon as may be, without injustice to the foreign troops, this mark, this but too visible mark, of the total decay of our national spirit; I should suppose, that GENERAL FITZPATRICK must have remembered fornier feelings and declarations, when he lately introduced a bill for admitting an additional number of foreign troops into this kingdom. These Hanoverians are a wonderful species of army: they go abroad, and, at the end of a campaign, come back increased in numbers, notwithstanding all the desertions that have taken place from them! It would be curious to know the expense of this part of our force. I should really like to see what proportion this expense would bear to that of the raising and the maintaining of the whole army agreeably to my plan; and, perhaps, we may, before the close of the session of parliament, come at the means of forming the interesting comparison. GENERAL STEWART, who is, not less than myself, hostile to the volunteer and balloting system, does, nevertheless, wish to keep up a part of the yeomanry cavalry; and, moreover, to mould them into "a species of gendarmerie." I object to the GENERAL'S phrase; it is foreign, it is unnatural; but, it is not more unnatural to language, than the thing itself is, I trust, unnatural to our country. We want no armed police: our country. We want no armed police: we want no "constables with bayonets "in their hands;" and, never should we want them; never, for one moment, would arise the emergency, when such a po-lice would be wanted, had we once an army constituted as I have proposed; so constituted as to give to any soul appertaining to it a real and obvious interest in the preservation of the prerogatives and dignity of the crown and the liberties and the privileges of the people. -- I should here have closed this article, but a remark or two seems to be called for by a notice given, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday the 20th instant, by GENERAL TARLETON, and, agreeably to which notice, the General is to make a motion upon the subject of the state of the

army, unless Mr. SECRETARY WINDHAM should produce his plan in a few days time. Precisely what object the General may have in view, it would, perhaps, be very difficult to say. But, unsteady as Mr. WINDHAM certainly has been with regard to the measures necessary to an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley; much as my opinions have been shaken by that want of firmness, I still hope, that he has firmness enough left, to sit and hear the GENERAL's motion with perfect unconcern. There has been, as yet, not half time enough to digest, to prepare for legislative enactment, a code for the reformation and for the establishing of the army. It is easy for one of us, who have no other responsibility than that of mere opinion; who, in proportion to our obscurity or insignificance, are safe from the effects of failure: it is very easy for such persons as General Stewart, General Tarleton and myself, to bring forward plans for the forming or the reforming of the army; but, will any one say, that it can be so easy with a minister, whose words at once affect every man in the kingdom? Besides, what I, for instance, have done, supposing mine to be a good plan, is nothing more than to sketch an outline. I have said nothing about the Commissioned Officers; nothing of what is to be done with regard to the men already serving. Many other great matters remain to be attended to; and, who does not perceive, that the mere arrangement of the detail; the mere putting it upon paper, to say nothing about the moulding of it into a bill, in which shape only it can come before the parliament; must of necessity, demand a space of many weeks? To see Mr. WINDHAM, therefore, at all moved; to see him, in the smallest degree, hurried by the little pestering of those who thereby entertain the vain hope of swelling themselves into some importance, would give me great pain; and, indeed, my fear is, that, from this cause, or from some other, the measure respecting the army, will come forth in an imperfect and unpromising shape; that it will be a half-measure; and that the curse, inseparable from half-measures, will cling to it till its dying day. This. fear may be groundless: I shall be glad to find it so: But, seeing what I have lately seen, I must fear. I roust fear, that some feeble, some mixed, some complicated, some balloting project, will still be resorted to; and, if so, though I shall not despair of the c untry, since great good comes not unfre-quently out of the excess of evil, I dertainly shall not be able to perceive how that country is to be rescued from the terrible dangers, with which it is now menaced.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA. (Continued from pages 171, 197, 237, 303, and 368.) Upon what has passed in parliament, respecting the affairs of India, subsequent to the proceedings noticed in the preceding sheet, there is not now time to remark; but, I cannot refrain from stating, that, from what I have heard (it being impossible for me to wait for the opening of the minister's budget), a million sterling has already been advanced, out of the taxes, to the East India Company; and, I have also heard, that, the money-dealers, when they, the other day, asked, if any loan would be necessary for the use of the East India Company, received no answer. I state this as hearsay; but, at the same time, I state it as something that I myself believe to be perfectly true, and, in that belief it is, that I call upon my readers to consider, while yet there is time, what must be the consequences, to which this advancing of money to the East India Com-pany will lead. The engagements of the East India Company have been before noticed, and detailed; that this Company owes the nation millions, is a fact that the ministers cannot deny; that they have enjoyed, for many years, an exclusive trade and a territorial revenue, granted to them, and in the enjoyment of which they have been protected, by the taxes and the blood of the nation, will, as little, admit of dispute; and, after all, they come to us, the burdened people of the mother-country, for the means of paying the interest upon their debt, and for the means of carrying on their trade; and this, too, observe, after the ministers, at the head of India Affairs, have, from year to year, in the whole duration of their charter, declared, in an official way, and in a manner the most solemn, that those affairs were in the most flourishing state, and that, instead of being a burden upon the mother-country, the day was at hand when India would largely contribute towards her support! The excuse, now that the truth can no longer be disguised; the excuse now is, that they have been impoverished by WARS. I, for my part, object to the giving of them money at all. If they can no longer carry on their trade without losing; if they cannot pay their debts; if they cannot keep up the necessary establishments; if this be the case, let them give up the territory and the exclusive trade. But, when Mr. Fox and Mr. WINDHAM and Mr. SHERIDAN come to support a demand upon us for money for this Company of merchants, will they not, at

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the same time, tell us; will they not solemnly promise us, that inquiry shall be made, that a full and vigorous inquest shall be instituted, with respect to the cause of this demand! Will they not, as ministers, I mean, and not as mere individual members of parliament, support those, who now move for the means of making this inquiry? Wars! aye, we know that there have been wars enough. But, who undertook them? Who ordered them to be undertaken? Who sanctioned, either the principle or the detail of them? Who has fattened upon them? In short, why have there been these wars? Are we not to ask these questions? And, shall we not receive an answer to them? All that we know as yet, is, that we have to pay for them; and that, while we are called upon to advance money to enable the East India Company to pay their debts, all the persons concerned in the wars have grown richer than the nobility of this kingdom. Are not these things proper objects for inquiry? Sacrifices! Let every man make sacrifices, is the precept of the day; and, considering the dangers to which the country is exposed, a very wholesome precept it is; but, ought not the people to have some satisfaction as to the way in which their contributions are to be disposed of? Ought they not to know something of the causes, which have produced this loud and imperious demand upon them for sacrifices?—Mr. CHARLES GRANT, the president, or chairman, or whatever else he his called, of the East India Company, said, some time ago, in the House of Commons, if we credit the reports in the newspapers, that, though England received no payment from the East India Company, it received advantages in another way; " for instance," said he, " the " great fortunes acquired in India are spent " in England." Now, from my heart, I believe, that this gentleman really thought that this circumstance was advantageous to England; but, I believe no less, that this opinion of his proceeded from a profound ignorance of the subject upon which he was speaking. Like the good people of England themselves, he appears to have regarded the India fortunes as being found there; as being gotten out of the bottom of some river; or, perhaps, from the chests of some plundered kingdom or principality. But, now, I think, that most people may easily be convinced of the truth that I have frequently stated; to wit; that the India fortunes are raised upon the people of England. The East India Company are in debt on account of wars: in the prosecution of these wars large fortunes have been made: and now the people of England.

are called upon, or will be called upon, to pay the debt. The statement is very simple; but it is not more simple than true; and, if any man will point me out a nabob, I will be bound to shew him how that nabob's fortune has been drained from the labour of the people of this kingdom. Aye! call these opinions novel and peculiar as long as you will; they are not less correct on that account; and, I am the most deceived of men, if they will long be peculiar, - Once and again, let us have an inquiry. Let us be informed how these incessant wars came to take place; and how all these immense fortunes came to be acquired in the service of a company of merchants, who are now so embarrassed, that they are compelled to come to this burdened nation for assistance, and that, too, at a time, when, according to their charter, they should have been annually contributing largely towards the support of the nation's expenses. Let us have this inquiry. On you, Mr. Fox, Mr. WIND-HAM, Mr. SHERIDAN, and Mr. GREY, partienlarly, we call for this inquiry. Give it us, or give us back for ever all the confidence we have at any time reposed in you.

THE ARMY. SIR; -- Your Political Register of the 22d has this day reached my hands, in which you give the outline of your " Plan for the forming an efficient and permanent Army," and in the introduction to which, after making very honourable mention of " England's Ægis," you put to me a series of questions, not, you say, "by way of rhete. rical figure, but with a view of obtaining an answer."-Most fortunate, Sir, do I esteem it for our country, when, on the subject of that work, men of superior intellect and energy of mind; men to whom the public eye is turned for light and information, feel sufficiently interested in the great object of the Ægis, to put such questions to the author as you have addressed to him I shall proceed to answer you, in the order of your questions, not repeating them, as your readers have only to turn back to your last number, and as my answers will faithfully echo their sense. 1st. The author of the Ægis has " duly considered the great change " which has now taken place in this coun-" try as well as in Europe."-He has been watching the progress of that change for many years past, and contemplating the wretched policy of English statesmen with respect to it. And it is with a full impression on his mind of that change having been deep and extensive, that he has proposed to his country to look into the neglected ener-

gies of her own constitution, for her security against that power whose total change of nature has wrought so many other changes in the surrounding states .- 2d. He has "duly " considered what is that species of force " which we shall have to resist;" the progress of his work has endeavoured to impress that consideration; (a consideration to which the former ministers, by their military absurdities, never seemed to pay sufficient attention) upon the present adminisration and the public .- 3d. He has " duly " considered how much depends upon cele-" rity in preparing our means of resist-ance." Here, not to advert to a series of efforts in 1782, 1795, and 1796\*, for recalling the public attention " to the great con-" stitutional right and duty, as well as the " wisdom and the necessity of being armed " for defence of the peace, the laws, and " the liberties of our country," it is to be observed, that the first edition of the Ægis, was in fact, published early in 1799, now seven years ago, as the military part of " an " appeal, civil and military, on the subject " of the English Constitution;" wherefore, there has been no want of time for " pre-" paring our means of resistance," as pointed out by the author of that work. It is to be noted, as you justly observe, that the system of the Ægis " does not exclude the es-" tablishment of a regular military force;" but plans for such a purpose, for more reasons than one, the author of that work thought better in other hands than in his .-If more regulars are now wanted, and can be raised with " celerity," he sees no reason why both systems may not be proceeded in at the same time; but the contrary. And he sees very strong reasons against the argument of "celerity" diverting us from restoring the military branch of the constitution, in favour of the most perfect system for a regular army that human invention can devise. Your enlightened mind justly revolts at the tyranny, equally horrid and unwise, of a conscription or a compulsory ballot, for recruiting a regular army, subject to serve in any quarter of the globe; whereas, for home defence, the obligation of bearing arms is, by the constitution and the principles of free government, necessarily universal. Hence it follows that, in the civil state, you have nothing to do but to class, to organise, and to provide arms; so that your " means of resistance" must increase with the utmost rapidity; whereas, in the regular army, it surely is against all reason to imagine that, even under the wisest system, recruits could be procured at any such rate. Again: supposing the regular army to amount as you propose to 200,000 men, these are just one million of men short of the force proposed in the Ægis. Now all additions to be made to the present force under either system, are of course at this time equally untrained to the use of arms; and there must be wretched imbecility in the government, if it could not find means to bring under good discipline with sufficient skill, a far greater number of those who should be added to the civil state than the army recruits could consist of. Hence, in respect of " celerity" of preparation, the advantage is most decidedly in favour of the system explained in the Ægis; not here to notice the article of expense which, under the pecuniary circumstances of the country, must quickly stop your career in attempting to provide a regular army adequate to our defence.—4th. He has "duly considered " what are the real causes of the state of de-" cline in which he finds the constitutional " energies of England;" and amongst those causes he believes he includes all those in your contemplation; and, probably, others. Your object, you say, is to aid in the cure of the evils you enumerate, touching the national debt, the millions raised to pay the salaries of tax-gatherers, and the over-shadowing influence of the trading and fiscal systems, "by the very means that you provide " for an efficient defence of the country and " of the throne;" but admitting in its utmost latitude the tendency of such "means" to mitigate those evils, yet very different means than those must be resorted to for a cure. Perhaps, upon a full comparison, it will be found that the tendencies to that aid in the system of the Ægis are more extonsive, and do more necessarily lead to that which would be a radical cure.—5th. He has "duly reflected upon the where-about, " if we would obtain success, we must begin " in effecting the restoration of those ener-" gies;" that is, provided we do not misunderstand the question. The beginning ought to have been in a mere statement to ministers and parliament of the decay, and of the tatal consequences thereof; because ministers and parliament, on receiving any statement of such decays in the constitution, ought immediately, as matter of duty, to have repaired the mischief .- But the writer, not having been absurd enough to reckon upon that " tecause," begun by an appeal to the public, through the medium of the

<sup>\*</sup> Declaration Rights, 1782. The Commonwealth in Danger, 1795. The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External, 1796.

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press. Public distress, public sense of danger, and the natural desire of averting an evil once understood, has at length excited attention; and a change of ministers has added to our hopes of a right system being adopted .- If by the question it was intended to ask me, for the first step in an arrangement, the answer is, that the language of the constitution is plain: its principle stands upon a rock : but the laws for giving it effect have fallen into neglect and are become obsolete. Begin them with a statute for a clear and explicit declaration of the principles; and follow this up with enactments for securing a practical adherence to that principle. The regular army being here out of the question, and open to every improvement that wisdom can suggest, our enactments must apply merely to arming the civil state.- In doing this, what has been ill done, by acting upon erroneous principles, has thrown impediments in the way; but by keeping our constitutional principle steadily in our eye, and, as we proceed in our organisation, according to the outline sketched in the Ægis, Vol. I. p. 31, (new edition) we ought to take care first of all, to render effective for real service, all the volunteers, yeomanry, &c. now actually embodied.-In proceeding to arm and to train additional numbers, our next attention must be to form into corps, those who from vigour and activity would make the best soldiers; and so progressively till we had included all that were to be armed. In this organisation, it might not at first be prudent, to dissolve the best volunteer corps, or, perhaps, any in a state of tolerable advancement towards good discipline; although we ought to organise on a system in which such corps should not hereafter have any place, as I have shewn the volunteer project to be a perilous novelty, utterly foreign to the sober good sense of the constitution. As soon as it can with propriety be done, each volunteer corps ought to use the language of a wool-stapler, as applied to a fleece of wool, to be broken and sorted according to quality, into riflemen, grenadiers, light infantry, and so forth; the several sorts being transferred to the proper corps, in a rightly organised militia or county power.—Your 6th, and last query, having reference to your own plan respecting a regular army, and involving in it too much matter to be answered (after all I have already written) by the returning post, I beg leave to postpone my reply to another day; when I may accidentally touch again upon some of the foregoing topics, on which my aim has now been to give as direct and as concise answers to your questions as possi-

ble.—I ought, perhaps, to make apology for the very hasty and imperfect manner, in which I have already answered so many questions on a point of such high importance; but, in truth, I consider our situation so critical, and the business of national defence so urgent, I have been unwilling to lose a moment. ---- Without dilating at present, I can however say, that, I have been struck very forcibly by the general excellence of your plan, as it respects the regular army; but it does not in my judgment, preclude in the smallest degree the necessity of restoring the military branch of the constitution, nor can be made a substitute for it. These two systems are perfectly distinct, and perfectly compatible; and the friends of their country will equally desire each to be as perfect as possible. When I reply to your 6th. interrogation, I shall probably, not content myself with so doing only, but offer you my sentiments on some points, which you may not perhaps, have fully considered .-I remain, Sir, &c. J. CARTWRIGHT.

Enfield, March 21, 1806.

## THE CLERGY.

-So numerous are the political topics which press for discussion at the present moment, that I fear you will not have leisure to attend to the subject of my letter; a subject, however, in which the interests of society are deeply involved. The history of the world will prove, that the only firm basis of national prosperity is the upright and moral conduct of men; licentiousness, whilst it corrupts the heart, enervates the hand of industry, the only true source of wealth and security to a people: nor would it be difficult to shew, that the decline of nations has been generally commensurate with the decline of morality, and with the deviation from those fixed and just principles, on which alone all good government can rest.-In a country like this, freed from the errors of slavish superstition, and exercising a rational and tolerant religion, whose principle is not to hold the mind in chains of terror, but to lead it to the practice of virtue, by holding up to its view the present and eternal benefits resulting from an upright conduct; it cannot, I say, be denied, that in such a country, amongst such a people, the state of morality will, in a very great measure, depend on the character of the Clergy, that the purity of their lives will be the test of the sincerity of their doctrines, the strongest support of national virtue, and, consequently, of national prosperity.—If there be any truth in these arguments, it surely must be a matter of surprise, that (amidst all our

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projected amendments); means have not been devised to obtain so desirable, so important an end; that measures have not been taken to prevent our Church being filled with characters so wholly opposite to the nature of Christianity, with men of no reflection, or no self-government; for, it is not that our Clergy are deficient in the practice of the duties of religion, from a want of belief in their truth; it is not so much a crime of hypocrisy, but proceeds from their taking on themselves a profession for which they are in no instance qualified, but which the facihty of obtaining induces them thoughtlessly to undertake. That there are in our church men of a description very different from this cannot be denied; in no country perhaps, in no rank of life, are there to be found persons of more exalted piety, more sincere worth, than amongst the clergy of this nation: but it is at the same time notorious, that there are in our church men (and I fear their number is by no means small) of morals most depraved, and of habits the most licentious; that such men, to view it in no further light, are a national evil, need not, I think, be proved; nor that such evil demands a remedy.—In answer to these arguments, it may perhaps be urged, that depravity is inseparable from human nature, and, that amidst all societies and classes of men, individuals will be found of vicious and immoral characters; I grant, to a certain extent, this may be true, but I do maintain, that in the case before us, if we have not the remedy, we certainly have in our hands the means of great amelioration.—The evil appears to me to arise from a remissness in two departments of our establishment; to the heads of colleges, and to the bishops must we look for its cure. In making this general assertion, I am aware I must include many worthy exceptions; but, as a general assertion I maintain it to be true. Observe the progress of a young man designed for orders, not from a conviction of the accordant disposition of his mind, but from the prospect of a maintenance in that profession; nurtured in the vicious habits of a public school, he enters one of our universities, his mind may here receive some addition to its store of knowledge, especially in the arts and sciences, and perhaps, theoretical divinity; but, of his progress in practical morality little can be said; and it too often happens, that those seeds of vice which he had early received, are now matured and ripened. These excesses are deemed common to youth; and, without hesitation, he is sent to the bishop with testimonials from the head and fellows of his college, of his good moral conduct and reli-

gious learning; of his morals the bishop can know nothing, and of his learning makes little trial; he is consequently admitted into the church. It may sometimes happen, that at this moment of reflection, a sense of the importance of his office, a solemn awe, may strike across the mind of a young man, and produce good resolutions; but if it does, experience too plainly shews, that, like most other impressions, it soon wears away, and is succeeded by former habits of vice and profligacy.—But, I come now, Sir, to the remedy for this evil; in the first place, let every head of a college make himself thoroughly acquainted with the dispositions of the young men under his care; a duty by no means unreasonable to expect, and which would lead to ends far more beneficial than that attention to the minutiæ of forms which make up the greater part of college discipline. Having acquired this knowledge of the young men under him, it will be in his power to discern readily those who are qualified for noly orders, and it will be his duty frankly to declare that such and such only as are in his judgment so qualified, shall receive the necessary testimonials for ordination. It is not here meant that the accidental excess of an unguarded moment should disqualify. a young man of sober principles from entering the church; no overstrained puritanical notions of extreme sanctity are here meant to be inculcated, notions which if countenanced would only give birth to the fouler crime of hypocrisy, since, from the frailty of our nature, it is well known, we must all at times go astray; but, it will surely be allowed, that in the world there are different shades of good and evil; be it from the difference of early education, or from what it may, the vicious propensities and the evil passions of young men, are found to vary in the greatest possible degree: it is then very practicable for the head of a college to select those who rise highest in the scale of virtue, and whose occasional deviations timely admonition may perhaps counteract; but, on the contrary, to use his utmost influence that men, to whom every thing serious is a mockery, whose only pursuits are intemperance and debauchery, should be divested from taking upon themselves a duty, with which, if there be any truth, any consistency in things, a life of thoughtless dissipation must be wholly incompatible. The prospect of this obstacle would deter parents from that habit of laying down too early plans for their children, without a due regard to the peculiar bent of their minds, and would considerably lessen the number of improper candidates. But, that notwithstanding these

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precautions, unfit men might still find means to get into the church, is much to be feared; the only resource then remains with the bishops. It will be for them to admit no candidate to ordination without the strictest inquiry and examination, and to reject without hesitation all such as do not come up to the certificate of the heads of colleges, with a pointed remonstrance on the subject. Lenity in a case like this is a national injury; the disadvantage to the individual may be easily repaired, but the evil accruing to the public, to the cause of religion, from a want of proper persons to fill her various departments, if suffered to increase, will be irreparable. I may here be told (nor do I deny the position) that from every fair comparison of the present with preceding ages, it appears that, so far from being more prevalent, vice is daily decreasing; this may be attributed to the influence of Christianity, whose benign doctrines continue to make new converts over the globe; but, although the truth of this be granted, it cannot be used as an argument against the necessity of further amendment, since it by no means proves that mankind are arrived at that point of perfection beyond which they cannot go, assisted by the light of Christianity. It must be granted by every impartial observer, that much may still be done: to return; let the bishops pursue a fixed, an undeviating principle of distributing preferment according to merit. In the name of reason, what has a bishop to hope or fear from the world? If he has had ambition, the mitre is now on his head; nothing then remains but to discharge the important trust with fidelity and integrity; no motive should influence his mind but worth; his diocese should be the map ever open before him, in which the character and circumstances of every clergyman should be clearly noted. From this habit of discrimination merit would derive vigour and support, and profligacy find no haunt where to secrete itself. At all events this habit of conferring rewards on the meritorious, would make it the interest of all to be exemplary; nor would a young man who could not promise to himself the probability of leading a decent life, be desirous of placing himself in a situation, where his very action would be scrutinized, and whilst others were honoured around him, he would be left the mark of vice and folly. The great benefits to society that would arise from such a system are too obvious to be insisted on; it is only to be wondered that negligence, or worldly views, or some similar cause has as yet obstructed its more general adoption. It is true that parliament has

lately enforced the residence of the clergy, but without this previous regulation its good design may be frustrated, or even prove an evil: for, as there cannot be a more powerful advocate in the cause of national virtue, than a clergyman of exemplary life, residing on his living, so there cannot be a greater enemy to religion than the opposite charaeter, whose conduct is in every respect at va-riance with his profession: example has more weight than precept; with the lower orders of men, whose powers of reasoning are very contracted, this assertion bears with full force. This then is the point we ought to look to; without this, the sagacity of the learned, and the ardour of the zealous will be but vain.—But, Sir, I have taken up too much of your time on this subject. I am not in the church, nor have I any views of interest on the one hand, or pique on the other, in writing this; but I am a friend to my Country and to the Protestant faith; and, as I am persuaded the welfare of one is involved in that of the other, I am anxious to see the evils which are in our church establishment corrected, since I am convinced they may be corrected without danger, or insurmountable difficulty.—X. Y.—March to, 1806.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND. Six; -Viewing your Register as a vehicle of impartial truth, and drawing my inference from the active, independent spirit of philanthrophy which pervides that valuable publication, I conclude that you will not deem the subject of the following lines to be foreign from your regard.—I am unconnected by private interest with any party, and wholly uninfluenced by any fondness for political speculation. I feel, in full accord with the public voice, the highest respect for the aggregate of commanding talents in the present administration; accustomed even to contemplate, with sentiments of veneration approaching to enthusiasm, those brilliant exhibitions of superior genius, which have rendered individuals of the present cabinet so prominently conspicuous to the nations of Europe, I anticipate with ardour the beneficial effects of a government so constituted. But, to judge soundly of putlic men, we must weigh the operative wisdom of their measures, and not suffer our understandings to be dazzled by the splendour of talents displayed for our admiration in parliamentary debate. Permit me then, in the humility of fimid diffidence, to submit a few observations on the Condition of the People of Ireland. Politically, as we are physically insulated, at a crisis which loudly calls for the vigourous exertion of all

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the energies and wisdom of our government, and the spirited co-operation of all the classes of the community throughout the empire, the Catholics of Ireland are but feebly united to their fellow-citizens. grand mistake prevails as to the means of rendering that part of the Irish population available to the power and defence of the country. It seems to be imagined that a certain specific measure is absolutely, and in the first instance, indispensably necessary to conciliate, and harmonize the affections of the Catholics. The measure alluded to is even represented to be the only one wanted, to give happiness to that class; and consequently to animate them in the common cause. The removal of certain disabilities from the Catholics would no doubt be grateful to the feelings of all, as abolishing some ungracious distinctions which wear the appearance of insult; and highly desireable to the rich and opulent among them, who may thus be advanced to a share of political power. But, it is evident from the late resolutions of those who manage the interests of that body, that emancipation is not at present so pressingly called for. Now, let us suppose this measure adopted: would it extend beneficially to the mass of the people? would it increase their comfortswould it affect the relation of landlord and tenant-would it multiply the means of subsistence for the labourer, or add to his domestic enjoyments - would it enable the poor man to provide for the education of his children, to secure them against that stupifying ignorance which causes no inconsiderable part of his own wretchedness? It is not the partial distribution of political power that is felt as their great evil; nor is it emancipation, which they so little understood and so little regard, but as they indistinctly conceive that term to mean an improvement of their condition in those points in which their distress is most severe, that can operate as its remedy. Scanty subsistence, heart-breaking labour, mean clothing, worse lodging, and deplorable igno-rance stand foremost in the catalogue of their grievances. These it is that furnish them with that most dangerous argumentwhich desperation ever supplies to the wretched, " no change can make our con-"dition worse, it may make it better." Those are the hardships which bear so heavily on the bulk of the Irish Catholics, and which call for remedial regulation and speedy redress. No single measure can embrace so many objects; several arrangements will be necessary, which gradually and successively adopted, and distinct in

their operation, may unite and combine their effects in producing, not only with certainty, but even with rapidity, the happiest change in the sentiments and affections of that ardent and susceptible people. But without legislative interference in their favour, when they look to the present ministry, regard their enlightened principles, and call to mind those friendly professions which seemed to encourage hope, and promise benefit and relief when power should afford means of realising intention, how gloomy must be their forebodings; how uncheering their conclusions! To them it will seem that, in respect of their interests, all men in power must be for ever the same. Their reasoning will be, that now they have nothing to expect; that their hopes have been delusive; that expectation has deceived them. Either that patriotism is nothing else than the hollow professions of public men, employed as the means of acquiring place and power; or, that some changeless principle of the political system of the empire excludes them for ever from becoming objects of its beneficent influence. Corruption and folly, but too readily, reach them in their effects; but purity and wisdom are too much confined in their operation beneficially to affect them. They have seen the long-wished-for close of an administration composed of men in whom social sympathy was extinguished; whose hearts were inaccessible to the movements of compassion; whose senses were impenetrable to the cries of suffering humanity; and whose limited views never extended beyond the nar: ow horizon of self - interest and personal aggrandisement. Men in whom selfishness cramped and fettered whatever there was of talent, and circumscribed it within the sphere of contemptible intrigue, and undignified struggle, for the maintenance of their power.-Those men looked not to the future, their faculties were wrapt and absorbed in the present. By them posthumous fame was either disregarded, or they felt conscious of inability to earn that splendid reward of the great and excellent. The poor of Ireland looked to the period of their power, as the auspicious era whence they would have to date a new condition of existence:-when they should become objects of attention to men of refined and expanded sensibility, disinterested and comprehensive policy, of sound and matured philosophy - men who would perceive in the moral degradation and abject condition of the poor, not the firm, but the feeble support of the rich; not the defenders, but the enemies of that country which gave

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them birth, but to continue, without diminution, the ancient stock of poverty and Let us observe the Irish wretchedness. labourer through the progress of a day. the equinox, his stipulated daily labour commences with the rising of the sun, and concludes with its setting. Indeed the duration of his hired labour is measured throughout the year, nearly, by the sun's diurnal course. Urged to unremitting toil by the watchful presence of his unfeeling employer, or worked upon by his passions, and excited to emulation against superior strength artfully engaged and bribed to exertion for this unconscionable purpose, he is made to waste his powers by a most ra-pid exhaustion. To repair this daily waste, pid exhaustion. he is supplied with two not very plentiful meals of the poorest vegetables seasoned with a scanty allowance of skimmed or sour milk. His wages throughout the year do not exceed seven-pence a day, whilst the rent of his hut and little garden (generally the worst of the farm upon which he resides) more than absorb the annual pro-Dismissed from the faduce of his labour. tigue of the natural day, other labour still awaits him; rest and repose are not yet within his enjoyment.—His own little garden must be cultivated; and he avails himself of the friendly shades of twilight for this necessary occupation. The animating motive of providing for the subsistence of a wife and children who are dear to his heart, becomes a fresh excitement to renewed exertion. The coming darkness only forces him reluctantly to quit this new scene of toil, and bury himself in his miserable cabin, until the approaching dawn. The eager snatches in his own garden, as they closed the labours of yesterday, are made the prelude to those of to-day! Aching bones, contracted muscles, pectoral complaints, rheumatic, and other chronic diseases, are the natural and inevitable consequences of such toilsome drudgery. spring of life is either snapped by the irresistible pressure of accumulated hardship or, weakened and relaxed by the gradual action of pain and labour, it yields to the palsy of premature decrepitude, and antici-pated old age. Accordingly, few of the peasantry arrive at that term of life, to which a pure soil and wholesome climate generally extend the existence of those in more fa-voured circumstances. This is neither a fanciful nor exaggerated account of the grievous hardships of the Irish peasantry. There is no man, who has had an opportunity of observing their modes of life, even for a twelvemonth, who may not, with truth, give a similar description of their situation.

The immediate and most direct cause of these evils of their condition, seems to be the existence of a most pernicious, unproductive class of men, who, in Ireland, are called middlemen. These men step in between the cultivator and the proprietor of the soil; they regrate the land; they prevent it from ever coming fairly into market, or settling at a marketable price. They dole it out in small parcels on short leases, or at will, at an exorbitant rent, which reduces the small farmer nearly to the condition of a cottier, and obliges him to grind his labourers in the manner already described, to enable him to satisfy the devouring rapacity of his immediate oppressor. It is not uncommon even to meet a gradation of five or six subaltern classes of these petty tyrants, between the head landlord and the actual cultivator; and each inferior class increasing in cruelty and injustice. A little cunning and superior attainments have enabled those pestilent jobbers to secure to themselves a certain monopoly; to draw to themselves the profits of the farmer, and, through him, to prey on the vitals of the poor. The labourer (and, perhaps, his immediate landlord), is thrown to an awful distance from the owner of the estate he cultivates; he is excluded from all intercourse with him; he speaks a different language; if ever he attempt to unfold the tale of his distress, his blundering narrative would force a smile, even from the benevolent and humane: The torpor consequent on incessant toil has sunk him into a state of barbarism, that almost levels him with the brutes, in which tribe the lordly proprietor is often, not unapt, to consider him.-The next source of wretchedness I shall notice is their universal ignorance. Slaves to sucerstition, to error, and traditional prejudices, their native acuteness, and quickness of perception are abused, by the interested sophistry of men educated in the practice of misleading their Without dwelling further, for judgment. the present, on the evils of their condition, let us suppose them called upon to resist with vigour an invasion of the common What motives can you hold out to enemy. engage their co-operation? Tell them they should fight for their property—property they have none. For their liberty and laws-laws have been hitherto made for their oppression; liberty is unknown to them; they are unacquainted with its theory; its practice has never reached them; they have hitherto vegetated in practical slavery. For their lives—their lives are not in danger; no enemy is so barbarous as to destroy an unresisting, an unarmed, and un-

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offending population. But it may be said, that the mischief of underletting cannot be remedied by the legislature, without too di-rect an interference with the disposal of men's property. I answer, laws ought to be to supply the defect of the good, and repress the prevalence of the bad affections of men in society. Surely, the legislatule may interpose its functions in modifying underleases; it would be no violation of property, certainly not of natural justice, to settle the rules of transfer and assignment of landed interests, so that the terms of the contract should not be left to depend on the necessities and circumstances of the taker. It would not be difficult to make effectual regulations in this matter. An extensive system of education for the children of the poor may have difficulties and opposition to encounter. The diffusion of knowledge has two classes of enemies in Ireland; and those actuated by very different motives. One set of men consider general knowledge, in the lower orders, directly hostile to their own influence and revenue. Superstition must be dissipated by knowledge, and superstition is the basis of their power and authority. Another set of men consider that an informed mind adds dignity and independence to the human character; they are therefore unfriendly to the education of the poor, as if it were an unjust attempt to trench upon their exclusive privileges, an insidious effort to approach to an equality with their natural superiors. But, in spite of those obstacles, a successful plan may be easily struck out, and knowledge made to triumph over deceitful hypocrisy and loathsome pride. If this subject possess interest enough to induce you to call the attention of your readers upon it, I shall, in a future article, submit the outlines of two or three plans which, in my opinion, would give unanimity to Ireland, and additional strength to the empire.—I am, Sir, yours,

Anglo-Hibernicus.

FRENCH ANNUAL Exposé, at the Opening of the Session of the Legislative Body at Paris, March 3, 1805. (Continued from p. 448.)

You know how glorious is become, at the end of one year, this memorable epoch; and now this crown, given by a great people, has been confirmed, by God and victory, upon a head so worthy to carry it.—
That with which you are less acquainted, and upon which it becomes me to say more, is, that in the midst of these immense and painful labours, when the Emperor, given up to the chances and vicissitudes of war,

underwent all his fatigues like a common soldier, exposed to all the severity of a rigorous season, having often for his bed only a bundle of straw, and for his covering the Heavens, from which all the fire of his genius seems to emanate; even then, at the distance of three hundred leagues, he held all the threads of the Administration of France; took care of its most minute details, attended to the interests of his people, as to those of his soldiers, saw every thing, knew every thing, like to that invisible Spirit, which governs the world, and which is only known by its power and its bounty. As evidences of this, you have the numerous decrees dated from Ulm, Munich, Vienna, and Austerlitz.-The interior was stripped of troops; Paris had not a soldier, and yet never was public order more strictlymaintained, never were the laws better executed. France obeyed the name of its Sovereign, or rather the sentiment of love and admiration which she felt. It was this sentiment which hastened the progress of the conscription, and made its produce threefold before the time when the contingent was expected to be raised. By it has been formed this long rampart of volunteer soldiers which line our frontiers from the Channel to the Alps: a new army, almost spontaneously formed, and which announces to Europe, that at the voice of its Chief, all France can become a great army. It is this sentiment of devotion and military ardour, which animates those young men, who press to enrol themselves in the Emperor's Guard of Honour, and who alone, in all France, may regret the rapidity of those exploits, in which they had no part.-Peace was concluded, before, in many parts of France, it was scarcely known that the war was begun; a war not so long as your annual Session, and the consequence of which must embrace future ages, Europe, and the other parts of the world.—If courage and genius have made war, generosity and moderation have con-cluded peace; a Sovereign, unfortunate in war, has recovered by peace a great part of his states. His losses are nothing in comparison to the risk which was incurred by the monarchy of which he is the chief. Princes, our allies, have had their power extended, and their titles ennobled. The bounty of the Emperor has surrounded France with nations friendly to her government. Italy, the noble daughter of France, and who promises to be worthy of her parent, has reaped the fruits of the war. But her power is our own; her opulence adds to our prosperity; our enemies are driven from her shores, and they can no longer have commercial relations with her. This rich soil is snatched from

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their avidity. Italy is a conquest obtained over England. She is united to Germany by the two-fold bond of proximity and friendship; and, by that alliance which her prince has contracted with the daughter of one of the most powerful sovereigns of the Germanic empire, tranquillity is now assured to the peaceful inhabitants of the mountains of the Tyrol. Commerce will enrich its deserted vallies; its conquest will be a blessing conferred upon it .- The Emperor, generous towards his enemies, magnanimous towards his allies, has not been less generous and less magnanimous towards his people and his army. Never was a finer crop of trophies presented to the eyes of man. Never did a nation receive a more magnificent present. The place where the senate of the empire sits, the Cathedral of this city, the Hôtel de Ville, are filled and adorned with standards taken from the enemy, presented by the noble and delicate liberality of the conqueror, a recompence equally honourable to the companions of his victory, and to his people, who had followed him with their wishes, and were prepared to second him with all their efforts. The army has made several campaigns in three months. France has reckoned them by its successes. The Emperor has reckoned them by the recompences which he has granted. The heroes who return with him, return with new honours; those who have devoted themselves for the country, have bequeathed to him the interests of their families, and the care of their memory. He has satisfied them: but the most desirable recompence of a French soldier, is the esteem of his Emperor. This is the glory of the empire, increased by his courage.-These are the transports of all France, which receives him upon his return. The Empefor wishes them to come to enjoy them under his own eyes; that a triumphal fête should be given by the capital to the army; a spectacle worthy of the great events which it is to celebrate; in which the whole eclat of the arts, all the pomp of ceremonies, all the signs of glory, all the expressions of public joy, will surround the grand army, assembled near its worthy chief, and make a brilliant procession for these phalanxes of he roes. Such are the principal events of the year which has expired. I have been able merely to notice them. I must lay before you more particular details of the legislative dispositions and ministerial operations which have distinguished this brilliant æra of our history.—The administration has had abundant reason to congratulate itself upon the patriotism of the clergy. The salaries paid to the curates of the chapels of ease, have

been an article of considerable expense, but of greater importance. A great number of ruined churches have been repaired, and the influence of morality and religion is apparent. Under these circumstances, a sincere, attachment to the Emperor has been manifested by the bishops, and archbishops, not by fair words, but by an efficacious and active zeal, which the Emperor has known how to appreciate.—The tribunal of cassation has fulfilled its duty. It maintains the uniformity of legislation; its watchfulness. restrains the abuses which creep into tribunals. The new regulations have diminished, by one-third, the expenses of justice; and the Emperor has taken advantage of this. economy, to augment the salary of the judges, which appeared to him to be disproportioned to the importance of their functions. The judicial code will be presented to you. Different bodies, which have presented appeals, have been heard. It will not be a perfect work, but better than that which hitherto existed. - Crimes have diminished. Such is the state of public security, that, for these many years, the criminal tribunals have not had so few crimes to punish. From the centre of Italy, the Emperor had watched over the internal safety of France, and the means of rendering invariable the order he had there established. He had instituted the companies of reserve. This force, merely departmental, augments. the resources of administration, at the same time that it adds to its dignity. Its vigilance is exerted about the public establishments, and leaves to the gend'armerie the most active part of its service, which that valuable corps performs with equal zeal and success, the parsuit of banditti, and the disturbers of the public peace; it makes the regular army a disposable force; forms the youth to military service; and teaches them, that it is by contributing to maintain order, obedience to the laws, and the respect of property, they render themselves worthy to defend the state against, external foes.—The administration has followed the course marked out for it during the peace; the public works that were begun have been continued with spirit; new and great undertakings have been planned, prepared, executed; and, under the burden of a double war against almost the whole of Europe, 40 millions have been devoted to that important branch of the public service. The Alps and the Appenines, those two great barriers, formed by the hand of nature, which hitherto the genius of war alone has passed, give way to the efforts of art, and unite Italy and France, Piedmont and the Genoese, by the bonds of com-

merce, as they will hereafter be united by political interests. On the declivities, and on the summits of the Simplon and Mount Cenis, enormous carriages roll with ease; a prodigy of the arts of peace, almost as astonishing as the exploits of war, of which these mountains have been the theatre. On the shore of the Lake of Geneva, among the precipices of Maurienne, steep roads have been levelled; and one single declivity, skilfully contrived, will soon conduct the peaceful traveller from Pont de Beauvoisin to the foot of Mount Cenis. Mount Genevre will afford to Spain a much shorter communication with Italy. The rocks which border the Mediterranean, from Tou-Ion to Genoa, and have witnessed the heroic exploits of our armies, to which alone they have appeared to be accessible, will cease to be the theatre of war; and, levelled with immense labour, will in future present to them a more safe and easy passage towards distant regions.—The produce of the tax for keeping up the roads, amounting to fifteen millions, has been assigned to each department, and divided among the roads of the first, second, and third class. The public exchequer has added to it between five and six millions; the whole of this fund has been applied to the repair of roads of the two first classes. Several new communications, desired by the administrators, have engaged the attention of government; that from Valogne to La Hogue is completed; that from Caen to Honfleur is finished; that from Ajaccio to Bastia is half done; that from Alexandria to Savona is marked out; those from Paris to Mentz, by Hamburg, from Aix-la-Chapelle to Mount-Joye, are decreed; the zeal of the departments has concurred, in various points, with the efforts of the administration. A laudable emulation animates a great number of the communes for the repair of the adjacent roads; and it is to be hoped, that this example will open the eyes of the inhabitants of the country to their own interest, and will be daily followed. Bridges are rebuilding upon the Rhine, at Kehl, and at Brisac; upon the Meuse, at Givet; upon the Cher, at Tours; upon the Loire, at Nevers and Roanne; upon the Saone, at Auxonère; upon the Rhone, at Avignon; that of Ne-mours is completed. Finally, those two ungovernable torrents, the Durance, which had never before submitted to the yoke; and the Isere, which had destroyed those imposed upon it, have been obliged to pass under bridges, already in a state of forward-

ness, which the neighbouring country is going to finish; a work of enormous difficulty, which no one had ever dared to undertake, or had been undertaken without success. The banks of the same rivers, those of the Seine, of the Aube, of the Moselle, of the Seille, and of the Tarn, have been the theatre of a vast system of works, which make along their banks market roads, render their courses more free, and protect the neighbouring fields. Distinguished Savaus, invited from the banks of the Po, have trad versed their whole extent, and visited and sounded all their passages. Freed from numerous obstacles, which interrupted its course, subjected to a more judicious police, the Po will carry, from the foot of the Alps to Venice, our merchandize and our soldiers. A beneficial legislature encourages that commerce, which would embrace both the fiscal measures of the ancient princes, and the rivalry of states. The Emperor has pronounced it. The Po is free. Six grand canals are in execution: that of Saint Quintin, upon which more than 5,000,000 francs have been already expended, may be finished in the course of the next year, with the aid of the means which you will be called upon to furnish. The tunnels are extended, and only two sluices remain to be made of swenty-four. Eight hundred thousand francs have been appropriated to the Canal Napoleon, which is to join the Rhine to the Rhone. The portion of the Canal of Bourgogne, which extends from Dijon to Saint Jean de Lorne, reckons eleven sluices complete, of twenty-two. The Canals of Blavet, of the Ille, and Rance, which establish, in the bosom of Bretagne, internal communications between the Gulph of Gascogne and the Channel, are already carried, the former one-third, and the latter, one-eighth of their way. That of Arles, which is to make the Rhone navigable, at its month, is one-fourth finished. The branching canals, which increase the natural fertility of Belgium, have been repaired, extended, and multiplied. Some other canals, not less important, are commenced, or, at least, traced out, and will be speedily undertaken. Such are that of St. Valery, which will complete the naviga-tion of the Somme to the sea; that of Beaucaire to Aigues Mortes, which will shorten the communication of that great commercial rendezvous with the Mediterranean; that of Sedan, which will unite the Upper and Lower Meuse; but, in particular, those from Niort to Rochelle, and from Nantes to [To be continued.]